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FILE No. 201/2/2/9

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Central Section – African Sub Section

SUBJECT.
SOUTH AFRICA Political parties Union Federal Party

D. 86

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PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.
JCB:NH 57/204

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
1 MAR 1961
CANBERRA

28 FEB 1961

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

Referred for advice, please.

201/2/2/9

J. F. Nimmo
(J.F. Nimmo)
Acting Secretary.

Discussed with Mr. Kolker (PM's) + agreed overtaken by events, + no further action required.

...ation, after midnight, on

The following are the main representations.

1. Dr Verwoerd has not the legal or moral right to disregard the fundamental basis of our constitution which is "Union under the Crown". It is a betrayal of trust and dishonours the all important compact between "Boer" and British people.

2. The referendum on which he chooses to base his decision was run under shameful conditions, and was influenced by Hitler-like technique.

3. The Coloured People were unjustly deprived of the opportunity to vote and the teeming millions of Bantu were in no way consulted. All these, or almost all, were loyal subjects of Her Majesty.

4. Natal, an original contracting party to Union, is solidly opposed to a Republic and has made it clear, by all means in her power, that she is being ruled by force and by a hostile Government.

5. Our Government is narrowly sectional and racialistic in outlook. It is controlled by the secret society known as the Afrikaner Broederbond which is bitterly hostile to the British people and to their traditions, and is opposed to the broad South Africanism which patriots have endeavoured to cultivate since Union.

6. Verwoerd's record and that of his main supporters must be known to you. They have always aimed at a break with the Commonwealth.

7. Their Acts of Parliament and the administration of those Acts, are Nazi-like and frequently shocking to the Christian conscience.

8. The grave inequalities of our electoral system, the hold which the Government has on the machinery, make it impossible for us to turn them out by the constitutional means at our disposal. Thus about 90% of the people are at the mercy of less than 10% who are out of sympathy with them.

9. If the Commonwealth Conference recognises Verwoerd's Republic it will be condoning his actions and completing the subjection of the mass of the people. If it takes a firm line it will be serving the cause of humanity and may prevent the catastrophe which is otherwise inevitable.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
A.C. Martin
(A.C. Martin)
Leader of the Union Federal Party (Natal).

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173, Musgrave Road,
Durban,
Natal,
South Africa.
17th February, 1961.

PM. 33.

57/204
24 FEB 1961
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

The Rt.Hon. The Prime Minister of Australia,
Canberra.

Sir,

The attached "Case Against Dr Verwoerd's Republic" represents the views of a large section of the South African people. I pray that you will find time to give it your consideration. It has been prepared for wide circulation and publication, after midnight, on 24/25 February.

The following are the main representations.

1. Dr Verwoerd has not the legal or moral right to disregard the fundamental basis of our constitution which is "Union under the Crown". It is a betrayal of trust and dishonours the all important compact between "Boer" and British people.

2. The referendum on which he chooses to base his decision was run under shameful conditions, and was influenced by Hitler-like technique.

3. The Coloured People were unjustly deprived of the opportunity to vote and the teeming millions of Bantu were in no way consulted. All these, or almost all, were loyal subjects of Her Majesty.

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I am,
Yours faithfully,
A.C. Martin
(A.C. Martin)
Leader of the Union Federal Party (Natal).

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THE CASE AGAINST DR. VERWOERD'S REPUBLIC.

by

Lt.-Col. A. C. Martin, Leader of the Union Federal Party (Natal).

(This article is supplied to certain leading Commonwealth newspapers, for use as they think fit, on the condition that no part of it is published prior to midnight 24th/25th February, 1961.)

The Union of South Africa was the result of a solemn contract between the trusted representatives of the Boer and British people of four fully self-governing communities. Throughout the negotiations the Boer Leaders gave outright and unequivocal assurances that they willingly and whole-heartedly accepted allegiance to the Crown and membership of the Commonwealth.

The British section, devoted to the Crown and Commonwealth, relying implicitly on the honour of the Boer Leaders and on the honour of the people whom they represented, accepted these assurances, without which there could have been no Union.

In a spirit of the utmost good-will, and amidst declarations that "We are all brothers now," the Union was founded. It was intended to be, and was accepted as, a final settlement and reconciliation between the people of South Africa. A fundamental basis of the agreement, as binding as any in human document, was that it was to be a "Union under the Crown."

The Boer Leaders of 1910, as was to be expected of patriots who had fought for their ideals, proved worthy of the trust placed in them.

Despite minor set-backs, the Union prospered, strengthened, and fought for freedom alongside its kinsmen of the Commonwealth in two World Wars. Approximately 500,000 South African volunteers served in these wars and over 25,000 of them laid down their lives in the cause. South Africa emerged highly esteemed, and with the promise of a great future.

In 1948, as the result of grave inequalities in our electoral system, and the underground workings of organizations which had been active within the Union whilst patriotic South Africans were away at the war, the Nationalist Party came into power. It took immediate steps to do everything possible to see that it could not be turned out of power by any recognised constitutional means. It is not intended here to set out the devices adopted to secure what it hoped would be perpetual power. Some of them will be disclosed in the course of this statement.

The result has been that after thirteen years of Nationalist rule, Dr. Verwoerd considers himself strong enough to disregard the fundamentals of our constitution and destroy it both in letter and spirit, destroy it, in fact, as a legal entity.

Natal, as one of the original contracting parties to the Union, must therefore be legally and morally free to negotiate a new deal. This has been requested by the people through the Provincial Council, and by deputation representative of the Provincial Council, the United Party, the Progressive Party, the Union Federal Party (Natal), and by public acclaim at a great mass rally of the people.

Dr. Verwoerd has spurned the constitutional approach made to him and by his policy and actions has placed South Africa in a position of great misery and peril.

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Early in 1960, at a time when government measures and administrative acts, generally denounced by the civilized world, were distracting South Africa and causing social and racial disturbances of the gravest kind, Dr. Verwoerd announced his intention to complete his revolutionary plans and create a republic. This he was prepared to base on a majority of one vote if gained in a referendum run on conditions to suit his purpose, or, failing the odd vote, " by sterner measures."

The conditions under which the referendum was run were deplorable. It was preceded by the shocking shootings at Sharpeville and by more than five months during which South Africa was ruled as a Police State. Appalling numbers of citizens were swept up, Gestapo fashion, in the middle of the night, (it was illegal even to whisper names), and confined to prisons for long periods without charge made or reason given.

The midnight arrests were followed by another series of arrests, estimated at the time at about 18,000, and believed to be mainly for living in unauthorised areas, infringing regulations in regard to influx-control, and the like. It is known that many people were tried secretly behind prison doors and that some were sentenced to be flogged.

Criticism of the government was declared illegal and the Press was severely controlled under threat of suspension. The S.A.B.C. was used as a propaganda machine in much the same way as is the practice in dictator states.

Excluded from the referendum were the Coloured People, an important section of the civilised electorate, who, like the Afrikaners, originated in South Africa in the time of Van Riebeeck. 32,000 people from outside the Union, citizens of a mandated territory, were allowed to vote, whilst tens of thousands of South Africans, temporarily absent from the Union on legitimate business or vacation, were excluded. There was every reason to know that the great majority of these citizens would be strongly opposed to a republic. Included in the voting were oversea members of the Public Services. They could be expected to vote for a republic as all our Public Services are closely packed with supporters of the Nationalist Party, much to the exclusion of others.

In the previous year the voting age had been reduced from 21 years to 18, thus enfranchising tens of thousands of youths as shamefully indoctrinated in the majority of South African schools as were the Hitler Youth.

Despite all these transparent manoeuvres, a republic was favoured by an insignificant over-all majority, the total vote for a republic representing less than 10% of the community. In Natal, one of the contracting parties to "Union under the Crown," the republican proposal suffered a resounding defeat - a 77% adverse vote - which greatly exceeded the over-all majority for a republic in the Union and the extra-territorial mandated territory.

Despite this solid expression of opinion in a loyal province of Her Majesty's Dominions, Dr. Verwoerd intends to force it into his Republic.

The attitude of the Natal people has been expressed in dignified language by the representatives of the Provincial Council and the Leaders of the United, Progressive, and Federal Parties, in a joint declaration made on 15th December, 1960. It stated:

> "By its reply to the Natal deputation, this government has made it plain that it has no understanding of the hopes and

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aspirations of the people of Natal, and no desire to understand. While this government remains in power there can never be security for our rights or freedoms or our Provincial powers or traditions. Even our language is no more entrenced than was the Coloured Vote.

"The people of South Africa, and especially the people of Natal for whom we speak, must now take stock of the facts: they must realise that under the present government there can be no goodwill, no social stability, no peace, no lasting prosperity, and no abiding happiness for anyone."

"It is clear that the meaning of "Unity" to the Prime Minister is the enforced acceptance by all in South Africa of the Nationalist pattern of political thought and behaviour and a willingness to submit completely to nationalist domination. This we are not prepared to do."

This attitude was forcefully represented in Parliament on 31st January, 1961, when Mr. Douglas Mitchell, Leader of the United Party in Natal, and claiming to speak for Natal, said:

"We do not accept the Republic in Natal. We reject it and shall have no part in it. We reject this legislation and we are not willing to assist in bringing it into being. From now on we consider ourselves to be ruled by force and not by consent and by a hostile government. We may be forced to comply with this law but we shall seek the first opportunity to make our own laws. I believe the day of reckoning with the government is coming. If the opportunity presents itself, we in Natal will grasp it with both hands."

In Pietermaritzburg, The Capital City of Natal, on the 3rd February, 1961, Mr. Douglas Mitchell, speaking at a luncheon given in his honour by people of all parties said:

"Because the government has the guns, the tanks, and the troops, we can be forced to comply with the laws of the Republic, but we don't accept it, have no part in it, and will amend it at the first opportunity."

Finally, before a capacity public meeting in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall on 10th February, 1961, Mr. Douglas Mitchell was tumultuously acclaimed in reiterating all that he had previously said and pledging himself on behalf of Natal, ever to resist the republic. The meeting unanimously approved a resolution which stated that the people of Natal "were being ruled without their consent by a hostile government."

Thus it will be appreciated that Dr. Verwoerd, in disregard of the solemn compact of Union, intends to force us into relinquishing our heritage, our culture, and the principles for which, together with our kinsmen of Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other parts of the Commonwealth, we fought in two World Wars.

With an effrontery characteristic of the man, Dr. Verwoerd proposes to go before a Commonwealth Conference and seek approval of his action.

In the light of all the facts, it should be abundantly clear that, if the Commonwealth Conference recognises his republic, it will be aiding, abetting, and approving the subjection of a loyal Province, and millions of Commonwealth citizens, to what they have reason to regard as a hostile government.

Dr. Verwoerd and his followers are not in any true sense friends of the Commonwealth. Until late in 1960 it had always been their declared policy to break with it. Statements hostile to the Common-

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wealth, statements such as one would only expect from inveterate enemies, have long been part of their stock in trade. Even in the reply to the debate on the Republican Bill, Dr. Verwoerd made it clear on 9th February, 1961, that he and his party would prefer to be out of the Commonwealth.

It is essential to be clear as to the record of Dr. Verwoerd and his party.

Dr. Verwoerd came to South Africa in 1902 as an infant immigrant from the Royal State of Holland. He finished off his University Education in Nazi Germany, and, like Dr. Diederichs and many others of his party, fell under the spell of Hitler, a spell from which he does not appear to have recovered. As a newspaper man and propagandist, he seems to have been influenced by Goebbels. Strong anti-British prejudices were deeply ingrained in him.

When the South African Government declared war against Nazi Germany, Dr. Verwoerd took the line which might have been expected of him. According to a Supreme Court judgment of 1943, as Editor of a Nationalist newspaper, he published articles calculated to cause alarm and despondency in South Africa, prove of service to the enemy, and damaging to the war effort of the Union. He published news in reckless disregard of whether it was true or false, falsified news, supported Nazi propaganda, and knowingly made his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa. The judgment included the statement that it was his declared object "to achieve the complete separation of the Union from Great Britain."

As South Africa was at that time a completely autonomous state, the judgment could only mean that Dr. Verwoerd wished to break with the Commonwealth. As Dr. Verwoerd takes an inordinate pride in his inflexibility of purpose (he is now credited with the inflexibility of granite), there is no reason to believe that he has greatly changed. Such lip service as he has recently given to the Commonwealth has not been of a gracious nature and, even so, may be credited to his desire to gain votes in the referendum as a short term step to his final objective, disruption.

To what extent may we rely on his political protestations?.

He claims to be aiming at the unity of our people. Yet he, and all, or virtually all of his Cabinet, are members of the Afrikaner Broederbond, a secret society which first came to notice in 1935 when roundly denounced by Prime Minister General Hertzog, the founder of Afrikaner nationalism. With a sure knowledge of the facts, General Hertzog exposed the Broederbond as a narrow, racial sect, determined to keep our people apart, elevate its members in all branches of the public service as well as public bodies, and eventually seize power with the intention of subjecting all sections of the people to its rule. Its hostility to the English-speaking section of the nation, to their language and traditions, was such that membership of the Broederbond was completely incompatible with any possibility of co-operation with them. Further, General Hertzog declared that the Broederbond was of such a dangerous nature that, if it came to power, it would bring disaster to South Africa and would even destroy Afrikanerdom itself.

Wartime events made it necessary for a thorough investigation into the Broederbond. This confirmed all that General Hertzog had said and established many more startling facts.

In view of the above, there can be no surprise that, in thirteen years of Nationalist rule, not a single member of the Government has been English-speaking. The exclusion of English-speaking officials from important posts in the Public Services has become almost complete. Violent anti-British outbursts by prominent members of the Government form part of the pattern. The December, 1960, outburst of Dr. Albert Hertzog showed that he accepted as history what distorted minds had written with poisonous pens. Accustomed as we have become to such fulminations, it seemed certain that not even the Nationalist government would retain in the Cabinet, a man with such views. This

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wide of the mark. After a delay of more than a month, Dr. Verwoerd published on 29th January, 1961, a long and altogether unconvincing defence of everything that Dr. Albert Hertzog had said. How can such men claim to be aiming at the unity of our people?

What of the claim that the prime purpose of the government is to strengthen "white" South Africa?

The Nationalists came into power in 1948 when the finest immigrants of Europe were pouring into the country. They immediately clamped down on this, and, by various devices, one of which was the dishonouring of promises previously given to settlers in regard to the franchise, reduced immigration to a trickle. It is estimated that this policy may well have cost South Africa 500,000 excellent immigrants. There was no disguising the fact that one of the main reasons for the government acting as it did was because it knew that these immigrants were not likely to vote for it. So, to keep the government in power, white immigrants were kept out.

There is more to tell. The retrogressive, not to say repressive policies of the government, have been so resented by a large section of the best citizens in the land, men who have fought for their country, that tens of thousands of them, highly qualified technically and professionally, have moved to parts of the Commonwealth where they can live under a government which they can respect. The loss to South Africa in this way has averaged about 10,000 a year for every year of Nationalist rule - as much in one year as in all the fifteen years of what has previously been known as "The Great Trek."

Now that the Government feels it is entrenched for ever, it states that it needs 30,000 immigrants a year and is prepared to spend £3,000,000 a year on them. This clearly shows that for thirteen years it has sacrificed "white" South Africa for party interests. The damage has, however, been done. Dr. Verwoerd can give no satisfactory explanation as to why his Hollander compatriots are scrupulously avoiding South Africa's shores and passing on to Australia at the rate of 10,000 to 12,000 a year.

What reliance is to be placed on Dr. Verwoerd's promises (much advertised overseas), of establishing self-governing Bantu states within South Africa, so as to create a South African Commonwealth of Nations? No one with a knowledge of the Nationalist attitude on native affairs can take this seriously. The Bantu authorities which are being created are entirely subservient to officialdom, and violate fundamental principles of the old Bantu tribal government which they purport to be reviving. The Bantu Chiefs are government nominated and are increasingly regarded by their people as "stooges." Where they have shown opposition to the line laid down by the government, they have been deposed, banished, or otherwise dealt with. Sekukuniland and Pondoland have provided painful and tragic examples.

Serious disturbances in Pondoland were greatly embarrassing to Dr. Verwoerd during the visit to the Union of Dr. Hammarskjold in January, 1961. Because of this, perhaps, official statements were issued that all was quiet in Pondoland and that reports of widespread arrests were "the biggest nonsense this side of the Limpopo." The reliability of such government statements can be judged by the fact that the state of emergency still exists, the news black-out still exists, expensively trained and equipped Army units are still active in the territory, and it has now been admitted in Parliament that, up to the end of January, 4,771 arrests had been made. The arrests are continuing. It is regrettable that in maintaining order, the government seems to have to rely, more and more, on sten guns, saracens, and army planes.

There is nothing to show, therefore, as yet, that genuine self-government, or the building up of independent Bantu states is progressing. If development of self-governing ethnic groups, and the safe-guarding of their cultures is really the policy of the government, how comes it that Natal's request for a small amount of provincial autonomy, provided for if considered desirable in the Act of Union, has been rejected with contumely? How is it that the

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English-speaking people experience one assault after another on their customs and traditions?

The Nationalist Press now proclaims that South Africa is regarded as "the polecat of the world." Certainly much government legislation has met with world-wide condemnation.

Many of the "apartheid" acts dealing with Group Areas, the Population Register, Reservation of Occupations, Influx Control, etc., seem incapable of administration without creating widespread hardship and misery. The International Congress of Jurists, representative of 53 countries, declared in January, 1961, that over 700 South African Acts passed in the last thirteen years, restricted personal freedom, and that a number of fundamental human rights were denied. At virtually the same moment a cabinet minister was declaring "Nowhere else in the world did the masses have as many rights as they had in South Africa". This indicates how obscurantist are our rulers.

The insensitivity of Dr. Verwoerd to the state of affairs was evidenced by his Christmas message to the people. In the year of the shocking shootings at Sharpeville, the year of Emergency Rule, of Cato Manor Riots, wholesale arrests, Gestapo fashion, and insurrection in Pondoland, he considered we should congratulate ourselves on being one of the happiest and luckiest countries in the world.

The worst of it is that Dr. Verwoerd seems to have deluded himself and his followers into this belief. He naively proclaims that South Africa's unpopularity is due to two things - world-wide ignorance, and shameful misrepresentation, particularly by "the English Press".

To counter this he has now embarked on a policy of expensive advertisements overseas to give "factual" reports on policy. Judging from what we have seen of the advertisements, they can be guilty of gross misrepresentation. For instance, an advertisement of 4th December, 1960, in London's "Sunday Times," falsely represents "whites" and non-Europeans as entering South Africa at about the same time - the "whites" from the South-West corner, the non-Europeans from across the Limpopo. They are then stated to have set about "choosing" the areas in which they desired to live and that their descendants are now living in those "homelands" or "heartlands."

Government spokesmen have been busy developing myths of this type ever since the tercentenary celebrations of 1952, and they have been repeated by people holding the most responsible positions in the land. It is regrettable that such statements are gaining credence, and are appearing in school text books - an example of the indoctrination which is being practised in the schools.

Even if we are to rely only on recorded history, the statement in "The Sunday Times" is demonstrably false. The Earliest Portuguese explorers found South African natives in great evidence 150 years before the time of Van Riebeeck. In fact they found the ancestors of some of our Coloured People so hostile to their landings that they decided after 1509 to give the shores of South Africa a wide berth. In addition to recorded history, Archeologists can produce much amazing evidence.

It is incredible that our Government could believe that people overseas would be so credulous as to accept the story of various races, at vastly different stages of civilization, moving into an empty sub-continent and peaceably selecting areas for occupation. Nowhere in the world has land settlement taken place in that way. It certainly did not take place in that way in South Africa. One of the results of the conflicts which took place within the borders of what is now the Union, is that Dr. Verwoerd proposes, under his system of "apartheid", to allocate 84% of the land to the "whites", who represent less than 20% of the inhabitants, and 14% as "heartlands" to the rest of the people. Within this restricted area the non-Europeans are to develop to "Their fullest extent".

The facts as set out above outline the extent of the political impasse in South Africa. Surely only blind fanaticism could lead one to expect stable government to be established under such conditions. Yet Dr. Verwoerd seems to think, like Hitler thought, that he is about

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to set up a state which will last a thousand years. Hitler's thousand years proved to be but ten, during which war raged for more than five, and more than 50,000,000 people perished.

Catastrophe certainly threatens South Africa. It is because of this that we are struggling, by all means in our power, against the Verwoerd Government.

If the Commonwealth countries admit Dr. Verwoerd's republic, established in defiance of the fundamental basis of our constitution and in disregard of all reasonable approaches made, they will be condoning his actions and encouraging him in his intransigence. Embarrassing complications would surely follow, and swiftly.

On the other hand, if they suspend South Africa from the Commonwealth, they may prepare the way for a reasonable settlement and help to safeguard the fundamental human rights and privileges of all the 16,000,000 people in a great Dominion.

(Note: The writer of the above is South African born of British parentage. In civilian life he was Headmaster of the Durban High School. In nearly eleven years active service as an infantry soldier he served in the 1914 Rebellion, South West Africa, East Africa, France, Belgium, Germany, and the Western Desert. The units he served with were the Royal Durban Light Infantry, 6th South African Infantry, and the King's Royal Rifles. He retired as Officer Commanding 2nd Royal Durban Light Infantry. Decorations M.C., V.D. For his services as an educationist and soldier he was awarded an Honorary Ph.D. by the University of Natal in 1959. Historical Publication: "The Concentration Camps, 1902. Facts, Figures and Fables." Howard B. Timmins).

Printed and issued by A. C. Martin, 173 Musgrave Road, Durban.

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TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"

REFERENCE No. 3/2/5/5/

MEMO NO. 363

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
18 OCT 1954
201/2/2/9
CANBERRA.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CENTRAL HOUSE
PRETORIUS STREET
PRETORIA

5th October, 1954.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

acknowledge
[illegible]
on 20/10/3

THE NATAL CONGRESS OF THE UNION FEDERAL PARTY.

The Natal Congress of the Union Federal Party took place in the Westville Town Hall, Durban, on Friday, 1st October, 1954, and was addressed at length by the Rt. Hon. G. Heaton Nicholls who said:

"The leader of the United Party, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, has offered the bait of the United Party becoming a Commonwealth Party. But he forgot to say whether membership of the Commonwealth was to be of the India/Pakistan variety or of the Canada/Australia variety. This is a matter on which the people of Natal should have some clarity.

In common English, does Mr. Strauss mean that South Africa should maintain its allegiance with the Crown? The United Party's earnestness can be shown by the withdrawal of Clause 2(d) from its Constitution."

2. According to the April, 1951, issue of the Programme of Principles and Constitution of the United Party, Clause 2(d) of the Party's Constitution reads:

"While the Party stands for the maintenance of the present constitutional position, no-one will be denied the right to express his individual opinion about or advocate his honest convictions in connection with any change of our form of Government."

3. The Natal Congress of the Union Federal Party adopted a resolution proposed by its Chairman, Major-General A. R. Selby, the operative portions of which read:

"In view of the impending threat of a republic in South Africa, this Congress resolves:-

1. That the establishment of a republic will endanger the rights and liberties and well-being of the people and is wholly unacceptable.
2. That, therefore, resistance to the establishment of a republic must now take priority over all other issues. The party realises that its Federal, non-European and other policies cannot be implemented until the battle against the republic has been fought and won."

4. There are grounds for believing that many members of the Union Federal Party would be prepared to rejoin the United Party if the latter Party were to eliminate Clause 2(d) from its Constitution and thus insist that all members of the United Party should adopt an anti-republican stand.

K. T. Kelly

(K. T. Kelly)
FIRST SECRETARY.

C.S

Copy on 201/1/1.

/MJM

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TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"

REFERENCE No. 3/2/5/5/ 9652

MEMO NO. 200

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
10 AUG 1954
201/2/9/9
CANBERRA.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CENTRAL HOUSE
PRETORIUS STREET
PRETORIA
30th July, 1954.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

SOUTH AFRICA: UNION FEDERAL PARTY

In a statement made on 24th June, 1954, Mr. Malcolm Kettles, Chairman of the East Cape Region of the Union Federal Party, intimated that the Party might have to review its decision to contest seats, with a view to assessing its strength at the Provincial Council Elections, in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In the event, the Union Federal Party submitted no nominations for any of the seats to be contested in these Provincial elections.

In his statement on 24th June, Mr. Kettles also said:

"We wish to make it unequivocally clear that we have every intention of proceeding with our original decision to make a major assault on the Parliamentary seats in the coming General Election.

"The Natal Provincial Council Election campaign has clearly demonstrated that the main anti-Nationalist parties opposing us have no clear and satisfactory anti-republican policy, non-European policy, or policies pertaining to the creation of a Southern and Central African link-up.

"This makes it necessary for the Federal Party to continue in order to provide a political home for those who have vision and who are not prepared to commit themselves into the bondage of a Broederbond republic."

On 5th July, 1954, defeated candidates and supporters of the Union Federal Party held a post-mortem at Pietermaritzburg after the Natal Provincial Council elections. In a statement read at this meeting, Senator G. Heaton Nicholls said that the United Party were up in the air and were likely to remain there. The main political parties in the Union were perched at the opposite ends of a see-saw and neither could get off. South Africa deserved a kinder fate than to be a perpetual see-saw between monopolistic political parties. General Selby described the Union Federal Party's campaign in Natal as a crusade in which members of the party had been bound together not only by a community of ideas and aims, but by a stronger bond of friendship, and added that this was a tremendous source of strength and something which they should not lose as their numbers grew.

(Copy on 201/2/1)

It would appear that the Union Federal Party expects the Nationalist Government of the Union to hold a nation-wide General Election long before the normal date of expiry (1958) of the present House of Assembly. This is a possibility not to be discounted.

K. T. Kelly

(K. T. Kelly)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

KTK/MJM → [illegible] to see. 1/8/54

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OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTERIAL DESPATCH NO. 7/54.

206, Dumbarton House,
Church Street,
CAPE TOWN.
23rd June, 1954.

S i r, South Africa : Eclipse of the Union Federal Party at the Natal Provincial Elections, 1954.

I have the honour to inform you that on Wednesday, 16th June, 1954, the quinquennial provincial elections were held in the province of Natal and resulted in a notable victory for the United Party, its chief rival, the Union Federal Party, led by Senator the Rt. Hon. G. Heaton-Nicholls, failing to win a single seat.

2. It will be recalled that Section 70 of the South Africa Act 1909 prescribes that the provincial council in each province shall consist of the same number of members as are elected in the province for the Union House of Assembly, but further provides that, in any province whose representatives in the House of Assembly are less than 25 in number, the provincial council shall consist of 25 members. Accordingly, although Natal has only 15 representatives in the Union House of Assembly, the province was divided into 25 constituencies for the purpose of the provincial election. The South Africa Act also confers upon the provincial council the right of electing, by the method of proportional representation, four persons to serve (together with the Administrator of the Province) as members of the provincial executive committee. This executive committee is, in fact, the cabinet of the province. A minority of five in the provincial council of Natal could, under the system of proportional representation, appoint one member of the provincial executive council.

3. The capture of at least five seats on the provincial council thus becomes one of the primary objects of minority parties contesting a provincial election in Natal.

4. Of Natal's total population of approximately 2,250,000, only about 280,000 are Europeans. At this election the Natal electorate consisted of about 158,800 registered European electors and some 1,200 registered non-European electors.

5. Of the 25 constituencies, the United Party (the principal party in the Union opposing the Nationalists) contested 25 seats, the Union Federal Party 17, the National Party 6, the Labour Party 3 and the Liberal Party 3.

6. In the 1949-1954 provincial council of Natal, the United Party, which completely controlled the executive council, held 21 seats, the National Party 3 seats and an Independent 1 seat.

7. The official state of the parties as a result of the election of the 16th June is:-

United Party	21 seats
National Party	4 seats

Of the 100,766 votes cast, the following were the party totals:-

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United Party	62,530
Union Federal Party	20,519
National Party	14,490
Labour Party	2,426
Independent	416
Liberal Party	385

The provincial electorate as a whole showed some apathy in the course of the campaign and this was reflected in an average percentage poll of only about 62 per cent. This percentage poll was, however, considerably higher North of the Tugela River in the four or five electorates, where the European population is largely Afrikaans-speaking and where there was a straight-out contest between the United Party and the National Party. There was no apathy in Natal on the occasion of the national general elections of April, 1953, when about 85 per cent. of the electors chose to record a vote. Taking into account the probable distribution of votes in uncontested constituencies at the 1953 general elections, the voting strength of the several parties contesting that election in the province of Natal was:-

United Party	88,000
National Party	27,000
Labour Party	16,000

8. The abstention of so many of the voters on the occasion of the recent provincial elections was due, in part to the apathy of many electors, in part to the reluctance of English-speaking voters to choose between the United Party and the Union Federal Party candidates and in part to the boycott of the poll in Southern constituencies by the Afrikaans-speaking voters, whose attitude towards the main English-speaking parties was summarised by a Nationalist spokesman at Pietermaritzburg, when he said:-

> "The (Pietermaritzburg) Committee considers the Federal Party to be an out and out racialist organization and the Liberal Party has a policy to which we cannot subscribe. The United Party consists of Liberals, Federals and Conservatives and has no policy whatsoever. Owing to its attitude towards us it is definitely not entitled to our support."

9. In the largely Afrikaans-speaking areas of Northern and North-Western Natal, the National Party made some progress, gaining an additional seat in the provincial council and strengthening its electoral position generally, although it failed to secure its primary objective, the election of a sufficient number of provincial councillors to enable it to command a seat on the executive committee. As the Johannesburg "Star" of the 18th June observed:-

> "The Nationalist advance in the North was in keeping with the trend in rural constituencies of similar racial composition elsewhere. No change in this trend is yet discernible, nor can it be expected so long as economic conditions remain favourable and the Government's racial ideologies have the attraction of the theoretical."

10. Elsewhere in Natal and particularly in Durban and its immediate environs, the chief interest of the provincial election campaign was the challenge to the United Party made by the Union Federal Party. Notwithstanding its failure at a by-election in November, 1953, to wrest from the United Party the Durban/Berea seat in the House of Assembly, the Union Federal

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Party entered the provincial campaign with considerable zest. Afterthe defeat of the United Party at the national general elections of 1953, the Union Federal Party attracted to its ranks many of the leading figures in the Torch Commando and the Labour Party in Natal, many of the younger voters, and a fair sprinkling of students, journalists and other intellectuals. The Federal Party's spokesmen were also accorded considerable publicity by the "Natal Mercury", one of the leading newspapers in the Union. On the other hand, the business community of Natal, and particularly the manufacturers, whose markets are Union-wide, took the view that Natal, if separated from the Union, could never be a viable state on its own, and their influence was accordingly exerted, as was the influence of the business community in the Union as a whole, against the policy and personalities of the Union Federal Party.

11. The Federalists loudly proclaimed the political bankruptcy of the Union and affirmed that, apart from Natal, the three remaining provinces of the Union were destined to become a republic under the control of the secret society of Afrikaners known as the Broederbond. The Federalists openly declared that Natal should quit the Union if the Union became a republic. Their basic pessimism with respect to political developments in the Union outside Natal led Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., to say:-

> "As one of the leaders of the Union Federal Party, Major-General A. Selby is the only General I know of in all history to tell his troops what is going to be done when the battle is lost."

(General Selby is an Australian, and was a class-mate of mine at Duntroon. On retirement he became immersed in theoretical politics, completely divorced from the realities of policies in South Africa which have always gravitated around personalities.)

However, pessimism on this point was not confined to the Union Federal Party, for, when asked what he would do if Natal was forced into a republic, the leader of the United Party in Natal, Mr. Douglas Mitchell, replied that he would "fight it from within". Mr. Mitchell's statement is significant, for it implies that the United Party in Natal would acquiesce, however, reluctantly, in the establishment in the Union of a republic embracing all four provinces.

12. In this connection, it is worth recording that commercial and industrial leaders in Natal known to members of this Mission have gone so far as to say that, provided it remained within the Commonwealth, the creation of a republic might be worthwhile if it could serve to bring about a greater measure of unity between the two European communities of the Union and thus pave the way for a nation-wide solution of the Non-European problem. As Mr. Mitchell reminded the electors of Natal, Europeans in South Africa were a minority "inhabiting a Black Man's country".

13. Apart from its intransigent anti-republicanism, the Union Federal Party had two principal planks in its platform:-

(a) A proposed new constitution for South Africa and the Rhodesias, the constituent states of which would be federated and would enjoy considerable autonomy, particularly with respect to their individual relations with the British crown; and

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(b) A mildly progressive non-European policy, the chief feature of which was provincial autonomy in the field of non-European affairs.

Of course, such a vague policy could not appeal to South Africa, even to Natal. The Federal Party did not really understand what they were advocating. In one sense, they were proposing a return to the position prior to the creation of the Union, when the dispute was between a Federal and a Unitary system of Government. The history of the United States of America and Australia has shown how difficult in practice is the working of a Federal system. In generaly, the Federal Party advocated the repudiation of most of the principles of the original Union, because their programme stood for the abrogation of central powers, with a reversion to provincial residual sovereignty along the lines of state powers of United States and Australia. Further, the Federal Party had no solution of the paramount problem confronting this country - the racial problem. Their leaders propounded the view that the racial issue should be solved individually by each Province. That, of course, is completely unrealistic because the racial problems of this country are linked with the Gold Coast, Kenya and Rhodesia, all without natural frontiers.

14. While professing its implacable opposition to the creation of a republic in the Union, the United Party appealed to the electorate on a number of somewhat inconsistent grounds, the chief of which were:-

(a) that English-speaking voters in Natal should not desert, and thus greatly weaken, the English-speaking minority in the other three provinces of the Union;

(b) that in the face of ~~provincial~~ non-European threats to their paramountcy, Europeans throughout the Union should stand together;

(c) that the United Party was the only opposition party strongly established in all four provinces of the Union and capable of offering nation-wide resistance to the National Party; and

(d) that the economic well-being of the European and non-European peoples of the Union required a national unitary approach to South Africa's economic and social problems rather than a provincial and federalist one.

15. The victory of the United Party over the Federalists in Natal was, in effect, a victory over anti-republican federalism. Natal's verdict also indicated that the English-speaking electorate in Natal was determined to reject for once and for all anti-Nationalist splinter parties, capable of making progress only at the expense of the United Party. Since the establishment of the Union there have been more than 20 such parties, their survivals being the Labour Party, Liberal Party, the newly-formed Conservative Party and the recently shattered Union Federal Party. Many of these splinter groups owe their origin to clashes between the leading personalities in the major parties. In South African politics personalities count for a great deal. In the past 44 years the Union has known only four Prime Ministers;-Botha, Smuts, Hertzog and Malan.

16. The election in Natal probably marks the end of the Labour Party in that province. Even in Durban-Umlazi, which was once a

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stronghold of the Labour Party, the Nationalist candidate polled more votes than an extremely strong Labour candidate.

17. The existence of widespread Liberal sentiment among English-speaking voters in Natal and the decision of the Liberal Party to contest three seats at the recent election, led the United Party, the Union Federal Party and the Labour Party to emphasise the allegedly radical character of their mildly progressive racial policies. The fact that the Liberal Party, whose policy, apart from the franchise question, is basically conservative, could obtain only 385 votes would appear to indicate that the Party has no immediate future in any of the four provinces of the Union.

18. On the morrow of the election, the leader of the United Party in the province (Mr. D. Mitchell) appealed to all anti-Nationalists in Natal to forget past differences and to rally to the support of the United Party. At the same time Senator G. Heaton-Nicholls, Leader of the Union Federal Party, announced his intention of resigning from the Senate. The retirement of this quixotic political veteran (he is 78 years of age) should help the cause of the United Party.

19. As, in the ordinary course of events, five years ~~xxxx~~ may elapse before there is another National general election or another provincial election in Natal, it is highly probable that dissident anti-Nationalist elements in Natal will have to return to the United Party if they are to exercise any influence on the course of national politics. Whether the United Party will be able to deflect the National Party from its declared objectives is an altogether different question. It is perhaps sufficient to say that the National Party regards the victory of the United Party over the Union Federal Party as helping to pave the way for the ultimate establishment of a republic.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. R. HODGSON

(W.R. Hodgson)
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Minister for External Affairs,

CANBERRA, A.C.T.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper: The London Times — File No. 201/2/2/9

Published at ..... Date 24/8/53

NON-EUROPEANS' RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

FEDERAL PARTY PROPOSALS

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN, AUG. 23

The immediate introduction of a system of limited direct group representation in the Natal Provincial Council for Natives and Indians and the ultimate grant of full voting rights to non-Europeans who are suitably qualified are proposals included in the programme of principles adopted by the Union Federal Party at its first convention.

The party accepts the desirability of residential and social segregation between Whites and Blacks on a fair and equitable basis, and wherever possible by the encouragement of voluntary population movements through housing and town planning schemes.

It proposes the exemption of natives who have attained a high degree of civilization from laws designed for the protection of backward peoples. The party states that it will try to reshape the quasi-unitary system of government in South Africa to one federal union by the redistribution of powers from the central to the provincial Governments.

A decision regarding the political rights of non-Europeans in the South African Parliament will be made by a national convention of the party after conventions have been held in each province.

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Extract / London Times. File 201/1/1/9

CENTRAL AFRICAN POLITICS

FIRST CONGRESS OF FEDERAL PARTY

Salisbury, Aug, 7.

The inaugural congress of the Federal Party, which will contest the first federal general election of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, began here to-day. Delegates from all three territories are attending, and the chief business is to deal with the draft statement of party policy.

The congress was address by the three leaders in the campaign for federation - Sir Godfrey Huggins (Southern Rhodesia) Sir Roy Welensky (Northern Rhodesia), and Sir Malcolm Barrow (Nyasaland). Sir Godfrey Huggins, operning the congress, said that the Federal Party, though it had been hoped that the position would not arise, was now committed to "an ordinary political scrap at the federal elections." This was a reference to the formation of the Confederate Party, which aims at a political separation of white and black and at the development of recognised European and African areas within the federation from which European and African states would eventually develop within the federal framework.

Sir Godfrey Huggins said that the division of federal territories into black and white areas had no part in the agreement about federation, and neither the British Government nor Northern Rhodesia would have anything to do with it. It was not a federal subject. In Southern Rhodesia such areas were dealt with under the Land Apportionment Act while in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland orders in council dealt with the matter.

MULTI-RACIAL UNIVERSITY.

In a reference to the multi-racial university to be opened at Salisbury, Sir Godfrey Huggins said that this was the best thing. Purely African colleges tended to be forcing houses of anti-British sentiment, and "we must get around that if we are to have a peaceful settlement in the federation."

Sir Roy Welensky appealed to the British Labout Party to "lay off the vendetta against federation, and so give us a chance to show what we can do." He said that in terms of economics racial partnership had meant so far that the European had provided 80 per cent. of the capital, including initiative and cash, and the African had contributed 20 per cent. Political partnership depended on the African's ability to prove himself. There could be no political development without economic development. His experience of the African in parliamentary life in Northern Rhodesia had not given him confidence, but he was convinced that in any form of political partnership the principle had to be accepted that it would not remain static.

"We ought to make it very clear," Sir Roy Welensky said, "that the difference between our policy in certain other parts of Africa is that here the African always has an opportunity to rise if he is capable of doing so."

NYASALAND VIEW.

Sir Malcom Barrow said that Nyasaland had no experience of political parties or of the party system, and they had hoped that it would not be necessary to be involved in such politics at the first general election. He added: "I do not believe

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anyone in Nyasaland who favoured federation would not for one moment have contemplated it if they had thought there was the slightest possibility of creating within the federal State white territories and black." One of the reasons why they in Nyasaland had supported the federal proposals was because they believed that such division would be fatal to the future of Nyasaland.

The Congress decided after long discussion and by a three-to-one majority that the party would, if necessary, take part in territorial elections. When the party was formed it was not intended to be active, other than in federal politics, but the formation of the Confederate Party, which has stated that it will campaign both in federal and territorial politics, has altered the position. A committee of the Federal Party has been appointed to study the matter, and it seems certain, in view of the general tenor of the speeches at the congress, that, if the Confederate Party puts a team of even moderate calibre into the territorial field, the Federal Party will decide to enter it as well.

POSSIBLE FUSION.

This would have the effect of largely, if not entirely, clearing up the present obscure position in Southern Rhodesia. With much of the best political material going into federal politics, both the United (Government) Party and the Rhodesia (principal Opposition) Party will be weakened. It has for long been contended that the difference between them is more of personalities than politics, and that they should come together. This step has, indeed, recently been suggested by some party members. So far there is no definite evidence that a merger will take place, but, if the Federal Party enters the territorial lists, that might prove a basis on which the United and Rhodesia parties could crystallize into one.

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Memo. No. 149

PRETORIA.

13th May, 1953.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

UNION FEDERAL PARTY.

Speaking at a luncheon at the Services Club in Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday, 29th April, Senator G. Heaton Nicholls, former leader of the United Party in the South African Senate, said that the Union of South Africa had failed and called for a federal form of government for South Africa, with the Transvaal, Free State and part of the Cape forming a republic and Natal retaining the monarchical system. The Senator said in effect that if it were possible for a Republic to be within the Commonwealth it was possible to have a Republic within a Federal Union. In voicing this sentiment, the Senator, who had concealed from the public until after the recent General Election the fact that he had last year resigned from the United Party, gave expression to the widespread fear existing in Natal of the policies and of the ethos of the National Party Government.

On 30th April, Major General A.R. Selby, C.B., C.B.E., National Vice-Chairman of the Torch Commando and the Rev. J.B. Chutter, Chairman of the Natal Inland Region of the Torch Commando, made personal statements concerning Senator Nicholls' advocacy of federation in South Africa. Major General Selby said :

> "I see no future in a Union in which we are, so to speak, getting on each other's nerves in the same household. Under federation, I assume, that we in Natal would govern our own house, solve our own domestic problems, and be free to adhere to our own traditions and loyalties."

Mr. Chutter said :

> "Senator Nicholls has revealed that South African problems can never be solved in the Party political field alone, because the conflicts are in the realm of the spirit .....the Botha policy of conciliation has failed. Senator Nicholls' suggestion of a twin set-up - the republic and the monarchy in some kind of liaison - leads the thoughts of very many of us, that the only lasting answer to the struggle that is emerging in the present regime is offered by some form of federation ... Whatever the merits or possibilities of political secession may be - and it is an open question - there is no doubt that in their hearts most Nationalists have long ago seceded from a Union dominated by Nationalist Afrikanerdom."

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Notwithstanding the fact that pleas for a federation emanating from Natal were strongly opposed as defeatist and impracticable by the English language press of the three other Provinces of the Union, during the weekend of the 10th - 11th May, action was taken in Johannesburg to establish a new party, called the Union Federal Party. The founders of the new Party include Mr. L. Kane-Berman, National Chairman of the Torch Commando; Mr. G. Ford, Natal Chairman of the Torch Commando and Lt.-Col. T.A. Hewat, a senior Cape Torchman. The new Party is likely to attract considerable popular support in Natal, where the Party may fight the Provincial Elections to be held in March 1954.

I append a copy of the first Manifesto of the Union Federal Party issued on 10th May and published in the Rand Daily Mail of 11th May, 1953.

K.T. Kelly

(K.T. Kelly)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

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Rand Daily Mail 11/5/53

Manifesto

Here is the Union Federal Party's first manifesto, issued yesterday:

The result of the recent General Election, with its clear Parliamentary majority for Afrikaner Nationalism, has led South Africa to a point at which a new approach to political life is urgently needed.

The nation now stands sharply divided into opposing camps, with a Government representing a minority of European voters now firmly and, under the present system of delimitation, apparently permanently established in office.

The policies of this Government, moreover, offer no hope of a lessening of the growing tension between European and non-European.

In their anxiety to secure their return to office both major political parties appealed to racial prejudice, and have offered to the electorate policies which ignore the realities of South African life.

We believe, therefore, that a new movement pledged to a realistic and courageous approach to South Africa's problems, appealing to no narrow sectionalism or prejudices, and devoted to the pursuance of principle rather than expediency in our national life, will serve to rally those men and women of goodwill who are disheartened and at a loss.

We believe that the following are the main principles on which the future well-being of South Africa may be secured:

1. National Aim.—To create in South Africa opportunities for people of all races to enjoy fullness of life and liberty under the protection of the law, to enable our country to play an honourable and constructive part in world affairs, and to promote Western civilisation among the peoples of South Africa.

2. The United States of Southern Africa.—A long-term policy for Southern Africa is essential. We shall seek ultimately to provide a Constitution-structure and way of life acceptable to neighbouring States, Colonies and Protectorates as a basis for the future Federal Union of the States and Territories of Southern Africa.

Reshape System

3. To reshape within the Act of Union the present quasi-unitary system to one of Federal Union.—To entrench the material elements of the contract of Union and, within that framework, to reshape the present quasi-unitary system to one of Federal Union by redistribution of powers from the central to provincial governments, giving a far greater measure of autonomy to the provinces, especially in matters which directly concern the life of the citizen, the general principal of which found an earlier expression in the Hollander Memorandum.

4. The right of the Provinces in given circumstances to determine their own future.—We shall work for the maintenance and assertion of the right of the people of any province of the Union, in the face of any actual, attempted or projected violation of the letter or the spirit of the Constitution, to remain a part of the Commonwealth of Nations under the Crown; a province so to act in the following, among other eventualities—a weakening of our allegiance to the Crown; the setting aside of the Entrenched Clauses; the denial of the testing power of the Courts; the abolition of the Provincial Council system or the reduction of provincial powers; the abolition of full protection or of recognition of the equal rights of both official languages.

5. The State and the Citizen.—The maintenance of a Western democratic form of Government and of Parliamentary institutions; the protection of the basic liberties of the people and the freedom of the individual, and of his right to appeal to the courts against any arbitrary act of the executive; the retention by Parliament of direct control over, and the limitation of the executive's powers; the elimination of all forces of totalitarianism, whether Fascist or Communist.

NO DOMINATION

6. Racial Accord.—The promotion of racial accord among Europeans with unyielding resistance against any attempt at the domination of one group by the other.

Racial harmony between European and non-European is as essential as that between European and European; a progressive rather than repressive non-European policy in line with Western traditions and Christian teachings on race relationships.

7. Non-European Policy. — The abandonment of fear as the guiding principle, and the adoption in its place of courageous policies offers the only hope in the field of non-European affairs. The policies that have so far been pursued hold out no genuine prospect of permanently peaceful relations among the peoples of South Africa.

We believe that the immediate aim in the field of non-European affairs should be the rapid improvement of living conditions, welfare services, education, and economic opportunities; thus striking at the roots of crime, disease and political discontent.

We adhere to the principles that the franchise already extended to the non-European should in no way be curtailed, or by any means rendered less effectual. The South African-born non-European should be accorded a right of expression in the organs of Government commensurate with his degree of civilisation, as follows:

(a) The present system of limited group representation of Natives to be maintained, and an interim period of group representation of Indians on a system similar to that accorded to Natives to be initiated.

COMMON ROLL

(b) Subject always to due safeguards against the disproportionate representation of any one section of the non-European population, the long-term policy to be taken in steps over a considerable period of years is the ultimate placing of those non-Europeans who have passed suitable tests of a high standard on the common roll of voters.

We recognise the fact of the increasing economic integration of the non-European peoples in the economy of South Africa.

We accept the desirability of residential and social segregation between Europeans and non-Europeans, to be obtained on a fair and equitable basis, and, wherever possible, by the encouragement of voluntary population movements through housing and town planning schemes designed to that end, and to the establishment of the foundations of a sound family life.

We believe that Natives who have attained a high degree of civilisation should be entitled to exemption from laws designed for the protection of backward peoples.

We stand for the recognition of all South African-born people, Coloureds, Bantu and Indians, as members of the greater South African community.

"TIME HAS COME..."

In order to assist in recording the most emphatic protest against the Nationalist Party we supported to the full the Opposition parties in the last General Election. The time has now come for the positive and independent assertion of the principles in which we believe.

Therefore we, the undersigned, acting as private citizens and not as office-bearers of any movement, announce the formation of the Union Federal Party.

While the membership of the Union Federal Party is available to people sincerely holding its principles in all provinces of the Union, the centres of sovereign power of the party shall rest in each province so that provincial political activity shall not be exclusively controlled by the decision of a remote and central party executive. A consultant council of provincial executives will be formed having advisory, but no executive powers.

We call to all who share these ideals to support us in our endeavour to remain loyal to the truth that what is morally wrong can never be politically right.

This statement does not claim to be a final and complete enunciation of policy, but we have deemed it our duty to establish certain broad principles as the basis of the party. Further points of policy and their method of fulfilment will be sbumitted to the party convention at which those who have rallied to our cause can share in the building of a sound programme.

APPEAL TO GOOD SENSE

We appeal to the good sense of the ordinary citizen who, for too long, has been fed on half-truths and false hopes by the existing political parties. It is on our belief in the ultimately sound judgment of the common man that we rest our faith in the future of South Africa.

(Signed)—

Natal: E. G. Ford, A. R. Selby, Major General, J. B. Chutter, J. T. Durrant, Brigadier, R. Hughes Mason, W. F. Hamilton, D. F. Standing, Phyllis Argo.

Cape: T. A. Hewat, Lt.-Col., Maud B. Lawrence.

Transvaal: Johan Venter, J. H. Wright, G. A. Brathwaite, L. G. Hertslet, L. Kane-Berman, J. D. Wilson, W. S. Conradie, J. G. F. Lang, H. Solomon, C. S. Kearey, R. Dagge, Colonel, J. A. E. Wicks.

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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dept. Refs	SUBJECT. re Australian Netherlands Winkelman A. M. L. - Appointment as Ambassador

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